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THE COMMUNIST FRONT MOVEMENT IN THE UNITED STATES



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John Edgar Hoover, Director

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PREFACE

This monograph represents a general study of the Communist front movement in the United States during the period 1919-54.

Part I describes the nature and meaning of the tactic of the united front in the international Communist movement, and shows how Communist front organizations are an integral part and instrumentality of this particular tactic; Part II outlines the character and purpose of Communist front groups generally; and Part III details the origin, development and impact of Communist front organizations in the United States in the last 35 years.

No mention has been made in this paper concerning Communist-controlled or infiltrated labor organizations or unions for the reason that such organizations or unions have not been considered in the category of Communist front organizations, as defined and characterized herein.

This monograph has been compiled from both public and confidential sources. The public sources have been identified in the back of the monograph; the confidential sources have been retained by this Bureau.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

SUMMARY

As a minority group seeking total power in the United States, the Communist Party, USA, has always recognized the fact that it is largely dependent on the support and assistance of non-Communists for the achievement of its aims and objectives. In furtherance of the Communist united front tactic, the Communist Party uses front organizations as auxiliary bodies and "transmission belts" to enable it to extend its power and influence beyond the limits of its own membership.

In the 35 years since the Communist Party, USA, was founded, literally thousands of Communist front organizations and groups have been established to serve many different Communist purposes and causes--international, national and local.

CONCLUSIONS

1. Communist front groups are organized as the specific need for them arises in every sphere of activity which the Communists assess as important or significant; they are discarded when the necessity for them ceases to exist.

2. Fronts are generally created in three ways: (1) by the Communists on their own initiative, (2) through a coalition with non-Communist organizations, or (3) by infiltration of a non-Communist group.

3. Extreme pains are usually taken to conceal the Communist character of fronts by giving them innocuous, patriotic-sounding names and seemingly orthodox and meritorious programs, and by having an array of prominent persons serve as sponsors.

4. Power in and control of a front is invariably secured and maintained by Communist occupancy of the key positions of the organization--the executive board, secretary, educational director, editor and office staff.

5. Fronts raise most of their funds themselves but certain ones--notably the youth groups--have long been subsidized by the Party itself; conversely, fronts have always been a lucrative source of funds for the Party.

6. At the high tide of the Communist Party's membership strength in the United States--in 1944-45--a total of nearly a million persons is estimated to have engaged in Communist front activity of one type or another.

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7. Since 1948, when the Communist Party, USA, assumed a largely illegal or underground status, the Party has come to rely increasingly on fronts to handle the bulk of its mass work--fund-raising campaigns, petition drives, agitation, propaganda, legal defense, et cetera.

8. Fronts have proved to be of inestimable value and advantage to the Communist movement in the United States by: (1) exerting pressure and funneling propaganda on behalf of the Soviet Union to large sections of the American people, (2) providing valuable organizational and administrative training and experience for individual Communists, (3) serving as recruiting agencies for new members of the Communist Party, (4) affording media to the Party for raising funds, distributing Communist literature, conducting petition campaigns, et cetera, and (5) supplying a convenient cover for the Party's underground operations.

9. In short, the Communist front movement has furnished an elaborate facade behind which the Communist conspiracy has been able to penetrate and operate in the United States with every semblance of legitimacy and legality.

I. UNITED FRONT TACTIC IN THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNIST MOVEMENT

A. Nature and Meaning of United Front

In every country where the Communist Party has existed, it has occupied--at least in its early stages--a decidedly minority status. In order to exert any measurable influence upon a preponderant non-Communist majority, therefore, the Communists have been compelled, of necessity, to form coalitions or alliances with other groups having somewhat similar objectives and interests. Such a practice is not unique for virtually every minority movement in history has found it necessary, at one time or another, to collaborate with other groups on the basis of common interests and goals.

The distinguishing feature of every united front or coalition entered into by the Communists, however, is their determination to utilize them rather than to give them their mutual support and genuine alliance. In international and domestic affairs, alliances by Communists with non-Communists are justified, from the Communist viewpoint, solely on the basis of self-interest and expediency.

Following World War I, the Third International* raised the question of relations with other groups, especially the Socialists, on a

*Also known as the Communist International, or commonly as the Comintern.

world scale, for by 1921 it was apparent that the world revolution was to be postponed, and that the Communists had succeeded only in isolating themselves from the trade-union and Socialist workers.

The first general statement of the nature of the so-called united front to be adopted by the Comintern was probably that written by Leon Trotsky during the plenum of the executive committee of the Comintern held in February-March, 1922. Trotsky made this observation:

> "...The task of the Communist Party is to lead the proletarian revolution. In order to summon the proletariat for the direct conquest of power and to achieve the latter, the Communist Party must base itself on the overwhelming majority of the working class.
>
> "So long as it does not hold this majority, the party must fight to win it."
>
> . . . . . .
>
> "...In cases where the Communist Party still remains an organization of numerically insignificant minorities, the question of its conduct on the mass-struggle front does not assume a decisive practical-organizational significance. In such conditions, mass actions remain under the leadership of old organizations which by virtue of their still powerful traditions continue to play the decisive role.
>
> "Similarly the problem of the united front does not arise in countries where ... the Communist Party is the sole leading organization of the toiling masses.
>
> "But wherever the Communist Party already constitutes a big, political organized force, but not the decisive magnitude ... it is confronted with the question of the united front in all its acuteness."

Trotsky cautioned that

> "...any sort of organizational agreement which restricts our freedom of criticism and agitation is absolutely inacceptable to us. We participate in a united front but do not for a single moment become dissolved in it. We function in the united front as an independent detachment. It is precisely in the course of struggle that broad masses must learn from experience that we fight better than the others, that we see more clearly than the others, that we are more audacious and resolute. In this way, we shall bring closer the hour of the united revolutionary front under the undisputed Communist leadership."(1)

Since then, the united front has become one of the most important Communist tactics for establishing contact with the masses and for using the mass pressure of great numbers of non-Communists to further Communist interests and objectives. The united front can be applied on a local, regional, national or international level. The Communists begin with current, popular issues, such as unemployment, high cost of living, and the like, and build a variety of organizations around these issues into which they seek to envelop large numbers of workers and others who can be persuaded to support concealed Communist objectives. These goals are then systematically broadened and extended to encompass foreign affairs. This device is sometimes even developed to a point where it leads to the formation of a "United Front" government, as existed in France in 1936-37.



The united front tactic can become a powerful weapon of a small minority Communist Party whereby the Party can manipulate vast numbers

of non-Communists in any manner it wishes, all the while preserving intact its own organizational independence. The united front has great appeal not only to workers but also to progressives, liberals, reformists and humanitarians.

The Communists' real intentions in establishing united front actions may be summarized as follows: (1) to extend their influence over the non-Communist masses, especially labor; (2) to acquire leadership of the masses; (3) to undermine the influence of rival non-Communist working-class groups; (4) to systematically divide and confuse the opposition to Communism; and (5) to prepare the way, through agitation and propaganda, for ultimate direct revolutionary action.

B. Major United Front Periods

Since 1919, world Communist strategy has passed through six major and distinct periods or phases, each involving an abrupt, complete and full-scale change of Party agitation and propaganda. In each instance, the united front has served as the nucleus of Communist Party tactics.

1. United Front from Above, 1919-28

During this period, Communist Parties throughout the world sought principally to establish a united front of labor, based on a struggle

for specific working-class demands, such as higher wages, shorter hours, improved working conditions, and the like. Efforts in this direction consisted chiefly of attempts to reach agreement with the leaders of other working-class groups, particularly the various Socialist parties. Little appeal was made directly to the workers themselves or to the rank and file of the Socialist parties. This tactic has, therefore, often been referred to as the "united front from above."

Generally speaking, the "united front from above" proved to be ineffective. Although the Communists and the Socialists had numerous common interests, close cooperation between the two groups was never achieved. For one thing, the Communists tended to overemphasize their own revolutionary program, thereby alienating the more moderate Socialist leaders. Moreover, inasmuch as the Communist Party had had its genesis in a number of countries as an offshoot of the older Socialist movement, the formation of the Communist Party had caused a violent split in the Socialist ranks, leaving an aftermath of ill will among both Socialists and Communists which virtually precluded any real cooperation.

2. United Front from Below, 1928-35

The strategy of international Communism in this period took a sharp turn to the left in the direction of open revolutionary action. Cooperation

with non-Communist groups was looked upon with disfavor as "right opportunism." Use of the united front tactic, with its emphasis on reform and cooperation rather than "revolutionary independence," was greatly reduced. For propaganda purposes, world Communism still proclaimed itself willing to work with other groups for common working-class goals, but in actual practice the Communists refused to compromise their revolutionary program in the slightest degree. While appeals during this period were directed to the workers themselves, in effect the "united front from below" was largely a merger of the Communist Party with its own sympathizers and followers, rather than a coalition of representative working-class elements.

While every effort was made to build the Communist Party itself, at the same time a number of Communist front organizations were created to serve as "transmission belts." The front groups which the Party organized proved to have little appeal to American workers and attracted only the more radical elements of the population. The fact is, Communist front groups of this period were frequently so closely identified with the Party itself as to have well-known Party officials serving in high executive positions.

Even though the Communists enjoyed some momentary successes, especially among the unemployed at the depths of the depression in the 1930's, in the long run the "united front from below" proved just as much a

failure as the "united front from above." Within the narrow limits set by the Party for united front activity during this period, the "united front from below" became a united front in name only. The net result of these highly sectarian tactics was that the Communist movement became increasingly isolated from the masses.

3. United Front Against Fascism, 1935-39

By 1935, the failure of the "united front from below" was admitted by the Communists and they were ready to execute another drastic change of tactics. The immediate cause of a switch in Party strategy at this time was the rise of fascism in Germany, Italy and Japan. World Communism clearly recognized the mortal danger presented by this new menace, and in August, 1935, the Seventh Congress of the Comintern was convened in Moscow for the express purpose of mobilizing an antifascist offensive.

In the main report to the congress, Georgi Dimitroff, general secretary of the Comintern, proposed, in substance, that the international Communist movement should give up the militant, "left sectarian" tactics it had employed since 1928 and, instead, undertake to create the broadest possible "united front against fascism."

Dimitroff indicated that world Communism's future united front activities would not be aimed exclusively at members of organized labor as in the past, but would also be directed at the unorganized masses, youth, women, farmers, intellectuals and others--in brief, at any potential antifascist ally. Moreover, they would be centered around any issue--economic, social, political or cultural--so long as the general objective was an antifascist one.

Dimitroff compared these proposed maneuvers in the three fascist countries with the famous Trojan horse stratagem employed by the ancient Greeks in their capture of Troy and recommended that the Communists use the same tactics to penetrate the very strongholds of fascism. (2)

Communist Parties in all countries wasted little time putting Dimitroff's suggestion for a united front into practice. Communist front organizations began to burgeon in the United States at the slightest provocation and on every conceivable issue, ranging from matters of such universal interest as fascism and war to topics of purely local and transient concern.

Almost every existing organization or group immediately became a potential target for Communist infiltration and united front propaganda. Communist front maneuvers were rapidly expanded to include such diverse groups as charitable and relief agencies, veterans' groups, scientific societies,

fraternal and civic organizations, women's leagues and consumers' cooperatives. In those fields where no organization already existed which would be susceptible to successful penetration, the Communist Party promptly undertook to create such a group.

One of the prime targets for the new united front strategy was the so-called "intellectual" groups--entertainers, teachers, artists, writers, scientists, et cetera. Special efforts were also devoted to building united front actions among the various racial, religious and nationality groups.

The united front tactics inaugurated by the Seventh Congress of the Comintern proved to be a tremendous success as far as the Communists were concerned. By 1939, the membership of the Communist Party, USA, had reached a new high and many thousands of other persons had become involved in Communist front activity of one sort or another.

4. United Front Against Imperialism, 1939-41

The era of the "Popular" or "People's Front" came to a sudden and abrupt finale in August, 1939, when the USSR concluded a mutual non-aggression treaty with Germany. Within a fortnight, World War II broke out. Literally overnight, Communist propagandists were forced to execute a complete about-face. The former "progressive" and "democratic" nations of the West, namely, Great Britain, France and the United States, were now branded as "imperialist warmongers" responsible for the advent of war.

The new Communist rallying cries directed against the United States were "Keep America Out of War" and "The Yanks Are NOT Coming."

Although many of the front groups instituted by the Communist Party in this country during the second half of the 1930's were forced to disband, a whole new set of fronts was erected around the motif of imperialism. In some cases, Communist front organizations remained virtually intact except for a change in title and few other purely superficial revisions.

Naturally, the alliance between the Soviet Union and Nazi Germany, coming as it did after four years of constant Communist denunciation of fascism, disillusioned large numbers of Party members and sympathizers and caused wholesale defections both from the Party itself and from the various front groups. To offset these losses, the Communists began to direct united front appeals at groups tending to be isolationist, e.g., youth of military age and women.

5. United Front for Victory, 1941-45

With the invasion of the Soviet Union by the Nazis on June 22, 1941, the "imperialist capitalist" war was instantly transformed into a "war of liberation" and a "people's crusade against fascism and oppression."

The Communist Party, USA, again exhibited consummate dexterity in reorienting its propaganda to meet the demands of this "new tactical situation." Peace mobilization fronts and anti-imperialist leagues vanished into thin air and in their places came a variety of new front organizations formed around the themes of "unity," "national defense" and "all-out aid to the Soviet Union."

Following the Japanese attack on the United States at Pearl Harbor on December 7, 1941, Communist united front activity was accelerated. American Communists took full advantage of this fortuitous opportunity to ingratiate themselves with the American people. The Communists suddenly became superpatriots and ardent defenders of the American way of life by subordinating everything else in favor of "national unity" and dropping all criticism of American "imperialism" and "reaction." They were now ready to cooperate in making American capitalism work effectively to win the war. To further the illusion that the Communist Party in the United States had become "Americanized," the Communist Party, USA, even went so far as to dissolve itself in May, 1944, being succeeded by the Communist Political Association. *

Under the guise of such cooperation, Party members during the war managed to some extent to infiltrate into practically every sphere of

*The Soviet Union, the previous year, had taken a similar step as an ostensible manifestation of amity between the USSR and its allies by formally dissolving the Comintern.

American life. In some cases, the Communists were able to penetrate, and even obtain control of, organizations which were entirely nonpolitical in concept at the time of their founding and which originally had no other purpose than to promote the war effort.

6. United Front for Peace, 1945 to Date

In anticipation of the end of World War II, the Communist Political Association, in July, 1945, reconstituted itself as the Communist Party, USA. Thereafter, American Communist strategy, faithfully parroting Soviet foreign policy, promptly reverted to its former offensive against "capitalist reaction" and "imperialism." Terms like "Wall Street warmongers," "American imperialism," and "capitalist oppression" reappeared in full force as the Party resumed its old-time, all-out attack on the American system. The "united front for victory" was converted into the "united front for peace."

Since 1947, Communist tactics in the United States, like those of the USSR and the Cominform, * have centered around the question of world peace. According to current Party propaganda, the postwar world is divided into two divergent camps: the camp of peace and democracy, led by the Soviet Union and its satellites; and the camp of war and imperialism, headed by the United States and the Western powers.

*The Communist Information Bureau, or Cominform, is the present-day counterpart of the old Comintern

While working to arouse popular opposition to such "imperialist" developments as the Marshall Plan, North Atlantic Treaty Organization, Point Four Program, American intervention in Korea, European Defense Community and United States atomic and hydrogen bomb research, at the same time the Communists have repeatedly proclaimed their readiness and willingness to cooperate with any nation so long as that country agrees with the Communists on the matter of peace.

The switch in world Communist strategy, which occurred at the end of World War II, necessitated another shake-up of individual front groups. Many of them which had been created during the war had ventured too far into a policy of class collaboration to be able to follow the Party's strongly militant postwar line. Such fronts consequently disappeared from the scene, and in their places the Party promptly conjured up a whole galaxy of organizations dedicated to the new theme of "peace."

II. NATURE AND PURPOSE OF COMMUNIST FRONT ORGANIZATIONS

A. Need for "Transmission Belts"

The importance of and need for so-called "transmission belts" were recognized early by Russian Communist leaders. Lenin, in a speech in Moscow in December, 1920, declared that in the transition from capitalism to Communism

> "...the dictatorship of the proletariat cannot be effected by organisations that embrace the whole of the proletariat. It is impossible to effect the dictatorship without having a number of 'transmission belts' from the vanguard to the masses of the advanced class, and from the latter to the masses of the toilers...."(3)

Stalin, who was Lenin's successor, also emphasized the necessity for "transmission belts":

> "The levers or the belts are those very mass organisations of the proletariat without whose aid the dictatorship cannot be realised.
>
> "The directing force is the advanced detachment of the proletariat, its vanguard, which constitutes the main guiding force of the dictatorship of the proletariat.
>
> "The proletariat needs these belts, these levers and this directing force, because without them it would be, in its struggle for victory, like a weaponless army in the face of organised and armed capital. It needs these organisations because without them it would suffer inevitable defeat in its fight for the overthrow of the bourgeoisie, for the consolidation of its own power and for the building of socialism. The systematic help of these organisations and the directing force of the vanguard are indispensable, because without them the dictatorship of the proletariat could not be to any degree durable and firm."

Stalin enumerated the types of organizations he had in mind as "transmission belts": trade-unions, soviets (i.e., political, business, cultural, military and other state organizations), cooperative societies of all kinds, the Young Communist League and the Communist Party. (4)

In 1926, the secretary of the Comintern, Otto Kuusinen, popularized the tactic of "transmission belts." Kuusinen, speaking on the organizational report at the Sixth Plenum of the executive committee of the Comintern, expressed it this way:

> "The first part of our task is to build up, not only Communist organizations, but other organizations as well, above all mass organizations sympathizing with our aims, and able to aid us for special purposes. . . . We must create a whole solar system of organizations and smaller committees around the Communist Party, so to speak, smaller organizations working actually under the influence of our party (not under mechanical leadership.)" (5)

In addition to being characterized as "transmission belts," Communist front organizations have been referred to as "bridge" organizations. They have also been called--and not without reason--"Innocents' Clubs."

B. Purpose and Function

1. Communist Party as Vanguard of Working Class

As a minority group striving for total power, the Communist Party in the United States is to a great extent dependent on the support and assistance of non-Communists for the attainment of its ends. The importance

which the Communists attach to non-Communist aid is clearly indicated by their incessant repetition of the phrase "contact with the masses." The Communist Party considers itself as a dedicated group and as the "vanguard of the working class." The Party regards the masses as subject to continuous exploitation and it has arrogated to itself the duty of protecting them from their non-Communist "misleaders" and guiding them to eventual emancipation under a Communist form of government. For this reason, the Communists endeavor to maintain the closest and most intimate relationship possible with non-Communists.

This also explains the continuous support, direction and coordination which the Party devotes to its front group activities. The Communist Party views each front organization as an auxiliary body and "transmission belt" which will enable it to extend its power and influence beyond the circle of its own membership. Fronts are organized by the Communists in order to exert some influence over those sectors of the population which would otherwise ordinarily remain unorganized, e.g., Negroes, women, youth, intellectuals, et cetera. These front groups are organized as the specific need for them arises and are discarded when the necessity for them ceases or when the organizations are no longer in a position to give effective support to the Communist position.

2. Employed to Extend Communist Influence

One of the earliest and most prolific builders of Communist front organizations on an international scale was Willy Muenzenberg, a prominent German Communist. In a speech before the Sixth Congress of the Comintern in Moscow in July, 1928, Muenzenberg was quite frank in describing the real purpose of Communist fronts:

> "1. To arouse the interest of those millions of apathetic and indifferent workers who take no part whatever in political events, who are not interested either in the economic or cultural struggles of the proletariat, who simply have no ear for Communist propaganda. These people we wish to attract and arouse through new channels, by means of new ways.
>
> "2. Our sympathetic organisations should constitute bridges for the non-Party workers. . . who have not yet mustered the courage to take the final step and join the Communist Party, but who are nevertheless in sympathy with the Communist movement and are prepared to follow us part of the way.
>
> "3. By means of the mass organisations we wish to extend the Communist sphere of influence in itself.
>
> "4. The organisational linking up of the elements in sympathy with the Soviet Union and with the Communists. . . .
>
> "5. We must build up our own organisations in order to counteract the increasing efforts of the bourgeois and social-democratic parties in this respect, and
>
> "6. Through these sympathetic and mass organisations we should train the cadres of militants and officials of the Communist Party possessing organisational experience."

"Our tactics should therefore be to win the old mass organisations that are swayed by the social democracy with whom we vie for influence, to extend and build up the mass organisations and to develop them into real mass organisations."

. . . . . .

"...The formation and extension of the mass organisations is of paramount importance to the growth of the Communist Parties; the mass agitation is an important part of the United Front tactics. From the Communist propaganda groups of 1919 we must grow into real revolutionary mass parties, and our auxiliary organisations into mass organisations gathering millions of workers, in order to be able to inaugurate and lead the struggle for power in all countries."[6)]

The purpose and function of front organizations were clearly revealed in an article by C. A. Hathaway in The Communist for May, 1931. The Communist was then the official theoretical monthly magazine of the Communist Party, USA, according to the Special House Committee on Un-American Activities in its report dated March 29, 1944, page 8.

Hathaway wrote:

"...we must break definitely with the conception that Communist work consists solely in direct efforts to build the Communist Party and in recruiting new members. We must learn to set up and work through a whole series of mass organizations and in this way also develop our Party work. Our chief error is our failure to understand the role of and to systematically utilize mass organizations. (T. U. U. L., Unemployed Councils, I. L. D., W. I. R., L. S. N. R., etc.)* as transmission belts to the broad masses of non-Party workers. The Communist Party is necessarily composed of the most conscious and self-sacrificing elements among the workers. These mass organizations, on the contrary, with

*Trade-Union Unity League, National Unemployed Councils, International Labor Defense, Workers International Relief and League of Struggle for Negro Rights.

a correct political line, can be made to reach many thousands of workers not yet prepared for Party membership. Through these organizations, led by well-functioning Party fractions, the Party must necessarily find its best training and recruiting ground. These are the medium through which the Party, on the one hand, guides and directs the workers in their struggles and, on the other hand, keeps itself informed on the moods of the masses, the correctness of Party slogans, etc."

Hathaway also stated:

> "...The work of our comrades and units must be conducted in such a way that everywhere (in the factories, among the unemployed, among the Negroes, etc.) we set up various organized groups under our influence and through which our comrades work. These groups, in turn, must be the instruments through which still greater masses of workers are organized for revolutionary struggle against the bourgeoisie. It is this principle of 'transmission belts' (organized committees and groups--Unemployed Councils, T.U.U.L., L.S.N.R., etc.--under Party influence) which must be firmly established in our Party as the means of our transformation from a propaganda Party to a Bolshevik mass Party."(7)

Benjamin Gitlow, a charter member of the Communist Party in the United States and a top national official until his expulsion in 1929, has observed that long ago the Communists recognized that the "bitter pill of Communism had to be sugar-coated to get the American people to swallow it and had to be fed to them in minimum doses"; hence, transmission belt organizations were formed for this purpose.(8)

Front organizations were originally intended to serve as media to mobilize Party sympathizers. Early fronts, such as the Friends of Soviet Russia, Anti-Imperialist League, John Reed Clubs and International

Labor Defense, provided vehicles through which people who were ideologically close to the Party were made useful.

Later, fronts were conceived of as weapons which would permit the Party to gain organizational access to and control over broader sectors of the population having no ideological commitment to Communism or even to Marxism. Such non-Communists were useful in supplying numbers for demonstrations and mass meetings, in supporting fractions in trade-unions and, in general, in offering an immediate and receptive audience for Communist agitational and propaganda activity. They were also a source of funds for Party causes and the Party itself.

C. Definition of Front

In essence, a Communist front may be defined as an organization or group which is created or seized by the Communists and is directed, dominated and controlled by them openly or clandestinely to such an extent and in such a deceptive manner that the non-Communist masses are exploited for the primary purpose of advancing the aims and objectives of the Communist movement.

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III. COMMUNIST FRONT ORGANIZATIONS IN THE UNITED STATES

A. Scope and Variety

1. Magnitude and Variety

In the 35 years since the Communist Party was founded in the United States, literally thousands of Communist front organizations and groups have been established. There have been so many different organizations serving so many different causes--international, national, state and local--that it is virtually impossible to keep track of all of them. Some of the organizations have been fly-by-night affairs, called into existence for a momentary purpose only to disappear soon thereafter into the Communist ether. Others have been of a more lasting nature, enjoying an existence of a year or two or more before ceasing to exist. A few have been hardy perennials and, except for changes in name, have survived for years.

Front organizations are formed in every sphere of activity which the Communists assess as important or significant and no facet of society that may prove susceptible to their siren calls has been neglected. Front groups have been set up to bid for the support of every possible segment of the population, and scarcely any person has been overlooked as a potential victim. Indeed, the Communists cater to every taste in and form of discontent

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and dissidence and offer a front organization as a medium for expressing and publicizing every protest.

2. Types of Fronts

To convey some idea of the magnitude and variety of Communist front operations in the United States since 1919, it is only necessary to examine some 625 groups and organizations which have been designated, at one time or another, as Communist front organizations by official Federal, State and municipal government agencies as contained in the Guide to Subversive Organizations and Publications (9) issued by the House Committee on Un-American Activities in May, 1951, and/or by the Attorney General pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

Front organizations and groups can be generally classified as follows: Soviet foreign policy, defense, intellectual, minority group, political, youth, economic, veterans', women's, agrarian and ad hoc.

a. Soviet Foreign Policy

Soviet foreign policy fronts have been among the most numerous of all fronts, 133 of the 625 being of this character.

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Fronts implementing Soviet foreign policy are of two types--the type which advances Soviet objectives on a world-wide scale, of which the

current American Peace Crusade is an illustration, and the type which concentrates on Soviet aims in one particular country, as, for example, the various Spanish fronts of the 1930's.

The first Communist front organizations established in most countries, under the united front program, were amity or friendship groups set up for the purpose of glorifying the Soviet State and its works. Thus, it was only natural that the initial Communist front organization to be formed in the United States was such a front, namely, Friends of Soviet Russia, whose lineal descendant is the National Council of American-Soviet Friendship, now the primary Soviet amity group in this country.

Friends of Soviet Russia was organized originally by the Communist Party for the avowed purpose of procuring relief for victims of the great Russian famine of 1921; actually, it was a pro-Soviet propaganda agency from its inception. The organization was completely staffed and controlled by the Communists, and it is said to have served as an important vehicle whereby the Communist underground carried on its semilegal and public activities in the early days of the American Communist movement.

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The name of Friends of Soviet Russia was later changed to Friends of the Soviet Union. Still later, it was called the American Committee for Friendship with the Soviet Union and American Council on Soviet Relations, finally winding up as the National Council of American-Soviet

Friendship, its present name. The NCASF continues to disseminate propaganda favorable to the USSR.

Prior to the advent of Hitler, Soviet foreign policy fronts were directed at all capitalist countries, including the United States. After the rise of the Nazis, Hitler became their chief target. A change-over was made as a consequence of the Soviet-Nazi nonaggression pact when the Western democracies--including the United States--became the principal marks. After the Germans attacked Russia, this type of front was designed to pressure the foreign policy of the capitalist nations in a direction favorable to the Soviet Union--with the United States again the prime point of concentration. At the end of the war, with the USSR safe and formidable, the Western powers--particularly the United States--remained the No. 1 focal point.

Commonly recognized as the most effective and influential Communist front organization ever to exist in the United States was the Soviet foreign policy front known as the American League Against War and Fascism. This organization had its origin in the Spring of 1932 when several dozen active Communists, prominent fellow travelers and "innocents" met in New York City. Most of them represented Communist fronts like the Friends of the Soviet Union, John Reed Clubs, Anti-Imperialist League and National Student League. Those present formed the American Committee for the World Congress Against War. Behind this nucleus was said to be a Soviet

agent who had recently arrived in this country posing as a German banker.

Subsequently, a number of American delegates of this committee attended the World Congress Against War which was convened in Amsterdam, The Netherlands, in the Summer of 1932 by a French Communist named Henri Barbusse.

A year after the World Congress took place, the First United States Congress Against War was held in New York City, leading to the formation of the American League Against War and Fascism. At its origin, no effort was made to conceal the Communist participation in the new group, for Earl Browder, then general secretary of the Communist Party, USA, was openly named one of the two national vice-chairmen of the organization.

At the Seventh Congress of the Comintern in 1935, emphasis was placed on the importance of using the widespread antiwar sentiment to benefit the Communists. Thereafter, the Communist Party, USA, began to hide its face, although it continued to exercise control through the manipulation of representatives from the many organizations affiliated with the League.



In 1937, the name of the American League Against War and Fascism was changed tothe American League for Peace and Democracy. As a consequence of the Stalin-Hitler pact of August, 1939, the ALPD was dissolved in February, 1940. It had outlived its usefulness due to the sudden shift from an extremely anti-Nazi to a pro-Nazi position on the part of Soviet foreign policy.

The remnants of the American League for Peace and Democracy supplied the nucleus for the formation of the American Peace Mobilization in the late Summer of 1940. The APM was especially created to promote the strictest isolationism and nonintervention on the part of the United States.

The most conspicuous activity of the American Peace Mobilization was the 43-day, round-the-clock picketing of the White House in the Spring of 1941, in protest against Lend-Lease and the entire American national defense program. The picketing ended on June 21, 1941. Immediately after Germany invaded Russia on June 22, 1941, the American Peace Mobilization was transformed into the American People's Mobilization, which supported the war effort.

With the cessation of hostilities in World War II, international Communism lost no time in devising and launching a massive "peace" offensive on a world scale. The Cominform gave it top priority and it has been designated as the major effort of every Communist Party in the world, including the Communist Party, USA. It has a twofold design: (1) to mask the Soviet Union's aggressive intentions and (2) to develop a feeling of false security in non-Communist countries.



The Communist "peace" movement assumes different forms at various times and places, calculated to disguise its Communist origin. Thus, the movement abroad has appeared, since 1949, as the World Congress of Intellectuals in Wroclaw, Poland, the World Congress of Partisans of Peace

in Paris and Prague, the American Continental Congress in Mexico City, the First World Peace Congress in Stockholm and the Second World Peace Congress in Sheffield, England, all with identical slogans and propaganda and espoused by the same group.

The same technique has characterized the "peace" campaign within the United States. Here it has been promoted, during the last five years, variously as the Scientific and Cultural Conference for World Peace, the Campaign Committee for the World Peace Appeal, the Committee for Peaceful Alternatives to the Atlantic Pact, the Peace Information Center, the National Labor Conference for Peace, and by a multitude of other front organizations, large and small, both national and local, including youth, labor, veterans', religious and women's groups. The paramount Communist peace front organization now is the American Peace Crusade, with its myriad of affiliates.

In the last few years, Soviet foreign policy fronts in the United States have publicized such slogans as: "End Germ Warfare," "Cease Fire in Korea," "For a Nine-Power Peace Pact," "Admit China to the United Nations," "Outlaw the Atom and Hydrogen Bombs" and "Hands Off Guatemala."

Some additional, significant Soviet foreign policy fronts which have existed during the last 35 years have been the Workers International Relief, World Tourists, American Russian Institute, American Committee for Spanish Freedom, Institute of Pacific Relations, Russian War Relief,

Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee and Committee for a Democratic Far Eastern Policy.

b. Defense

This type of front has as its prime objective the defense of the Communist Party and individual Communists involved in legal proceedings. Defense fronts also frequently inject themselves into cases involving non-Communists for the sole purpose of exploitation.

The first prominent mass defense organization established by the Communist Party in the United States was the International Labor Defense. It was formed in 1925 as an outgrowth of the Labor Defense Councils which had been set up as a result of the arrest of some 30 Communist leaders at Bridgman, Michigan, in 1922.

The ILD was affiliated with the International Red Aid as its American section, the IRA having been established in the Soviet Union in 1922 as an international defense and relief body with members in over 70 countries.

During its existence, the ILD participated in a number of famous cases involving such defendants as Sacco-Vanzetti, Mooney-Billings, the Scottsboro Boys and Angelo Herndon. For a number of years, Anna Damon, a charter member of the Communist Party, was national secretary of the ILD.

In 1946, the International Labor Defense and the National Federation for Constitutional Liberties merged to form the present-day Civil Rights Congress. The current national executive secretary of the CRC, William L. Patterson, has been an outstanding Communist Party leader for years.

Another important legal bulwark of the Communist Party is the National Lawyers Guild. Since its origin in 1937, it has never failed to rally to the legal defense of the Communist Party and individual members thereof, as well as Soviet espionage agents. Moreover, it has consistently fought against national, state and local legislation designed to curb Communism.

The American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born is another primary Communist defense front. This organization was formed in 1933. Its function has been to protect Communists from deportation under the guise of protecting the foreign-born as a whole. Abner Green, the long-time executive secretary of the ACPFB, has been reliably identified as a Communist Party member.

A classic example of the prodigious efforts and widespread activities of a Communist front was the operation and activities of the defense-front organization called the National Committee to Secure Justice in the Rosenberg Case.

Ethel and Julius Rosenberg were sentenced to death and Morton Sobell to 30 years' imprisonment, in the United States District Court in New York City in April, 1951, for conspiring to commit atomic espionage for the Soviet Union. The defense of the Rosenbergs, which began early in March, 1951, received little publicity and almost no support in the Communist press because the trial involved individuals with whom the Communist Party did not desire to be linked at that time. The legal proceedings were permitted to run their course until it became apparent that the legal remedies were almost exhausted.

Communist organizational tactics were first exhibited in August, 1951, when a series of articles on the Rosenberg case commenced to appear in the National Guardian, which has been used as a vehicle for Communist propaganda. The tenor of these articles was that the Communist Party could not risk a blow to Party morale by allowing the Rosenbergs to go to their death without a vigorous effort to defend them.



The National Committee to Secure Justice in the Rosenberg Case was formally established in late 1951. Thereupon, the Communist Party and its press entered vigorously into the defense of the Rosenbergs. Branches of the NCSJRC soon began to blossom forth in cities throughout the United States and in foreign countries. People in all walks of life, expecially clergymen of all faiths, were urged to denounce the conviction of the Rosenbergs.

The campaign to "Save the Rosenbergs" went into high gear and Communist activity became literally feverish. No trick of demagogy was overlooked and no possible promotion angle was neglected. Mass rallies, parades, pickets of public offices, "prayer vigils," delegations to Congressmen and other public officials and similar public activities took place. These were supplemented by an intense campaign sending thousands of letters, telegrams and petitions to the President of the United States urging clemency, and disseminating thousands of pamphlets, circular letters, financial appeals, et cetera.

The campaign even extended into some 40 foreign countries. Supporters of the Rosenbergs in France went so far as to declare a "National Rosenberg Day." It was also reported that the government of Poland offered "political asylum" to the Rosenbergs in the event they were freed.

In addition to its own affiliates, the NCSJRC received support from other Communist fronts and from various divisions of the Communist Party itself.

Among the more spectacular activities of the NCSJRC were the demonstration on December 21, 1952, by some 800 persons near Sing Sing Prison, New York, where the Rosenbergs were incarcerated, and the continuous, round-the-clock picket line maintained at the White House from December 27, 1952, to January 17, 1953.

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Some idea of the enormcus amount of funds collected and the vast quantity of propaganda material disseminated by the NCSJRS during the period from November, 1951, through August, 1953, can be gleaned from the following statistics:

1. Income in excess of $300,000 from contributions, collections, rallies and other sources was realized.

2. Approximately 6,000,000 leaflets and pamphlets, about 500,000 petitions and postcards, and thousands of form letters were printed and distributed.

3. Some 250 separate advertisements for a total of 40,000 lines appeared in various newspapers throughout the country.

While the Rosenberg case was legally ended on June 19, 1953, when the couple were electrocuted, the Communist Party and its various fronts have made a continuing issue of the Rosenbergs' trial and conviction. The NCSJRC continued to function under that name until October, 1953, when the name was changed to the National Rosenberg-Sobell Committee. Two months later, the present name of the National Committee to Secure Justice for Morton Sobell in the Rosenberg Case was adopted. The activity of this committee has continued along the same lines as that conducted prior to the execution of the Rosenbergs, consisting of rallies, appeals, petitions, and distribution of propaganda pamphlets and booklets.

The National Committee to Secure Justice in the Rosenberg Case originally had two ostensible aims: (1) to bring about a reversal of the verdict against the Rosenbergs, or (2) to have their death sentence commuted to a prison term.

In addition to these stated objectives, the campaign had at least four other obvious objectives: (1) to exploit the Rosenbergs' "frame-up" as a means of attacking the American legal system in general and the Department of Justice and Federal Bureau of Investigation in particular; (2) to add propaganda fuel to the world-wide "hate America" campaign which the international Communist movement has been systematically promoting since the end of World War II; (3) to feed the illusion that the Communist Party is a "champion" of the Jewish people while simultaneously diverting attention from the anti-Semitism which has long been evinced in the USSR itself; (4) to obscure the fact the Rosenberg trial offered strong evidence of the Communist Party's own involvement in Soviet espionage.

c. Intellectual



In the middle 1930's, the Communists recognized that the intelligentsia presented a fertile area for Communist propaganda and political penetration. They thereupon began to create intellectual front organizations. Of the 625 cited fronts, intellectual fronts have been the

most prolific, accounting for 156 of the total. Fronts of this nature have encompassed the entertainment field, the press, literature, schools, science, and the like.

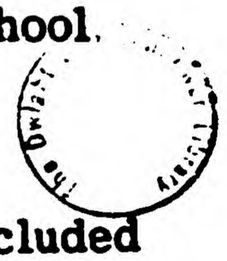
Probably the best known intellectual front has been the National Council of the Arts, Sciences and Professions. Louis F. Budenz, former managing editor of the Daily Worker, which is an east coast Communist newspaper, tells of the genesis of this organization.

About 1943, according to Budenz, American Communist leaders had become aware of the Party's rising influence among intellectuals and they consequently decided to channel this strength into a committee in connection with the presidential election of 1944. Communist cultural leaders got in touch with small knots of Communist writers, artists and actors in New York City and Hollywood who in turn asked their friends and acquaintances to join them on the committee. Since the idea of the committee was in itself a popular one, an impressive list of sponsors was compiled. The organization become known as the Independent Citizens Committee of the Arts, Sciences and Professions. The Communists made sure that they had secret control of the apparatus of the organization, which meant having sufficient concealed Communists on the executive committee and in key posts to exercise directing power.

In 1946, the Independent Citizens Committee of the Arts, Sciences and Professions merged with the National Citizens Political Action Committee, thereby forming a new organization called the Progressive Citizens of America. The present-day National Council of the Arts, Sciences and Professions was established a year later at a preconvention meeting of the Arts, Sciences and Professions delegation to the national convention of the Progressive Citizens of America. (10)

Another prominent and influential intellectual front has been the Jefferson School of Social Science located in New York City. This school is a descendant of the old New York Workers School, which was founded in 1923 under the aegis of the central committee of the Workers Party, predecessor to the Communist Party, USA. The Jefferson School of Social Science evolved from a unification of the New York Workers School and the School for Democracy, and was opened in 1944.

The Jefferson School of Social Science is regarded as a Marxist institution for members of the Communist Party as well as for "progressive" workers generally. During the first six years of its operation, the school claimed to have some 75,000 enrollees in its classes.



Other prominent intellectual fronts over the years have included the Workers Library Publishers, California Labor School, League of

American Writers, International Publishers, Four Continent Book Corporation, New Century Publishers and People's Artists.

d. Minority Group

Minority group fronts comprise nearly a hundred of the 625 Communist fronts cited. They consist of foreign-born and Negro organizations.

The Communist Party for years has profitably used front groups involving the foreign-born as specialized instruments, their utility being based on the fact that immigrant groups take special interest in their homelands and often exert pressure on the United States Government to attain desired policies. Since Communist interests are world-wide, and the influence of foreign-born groups is considerable, the Communists have laid special emphasis on establishing fronts in this field. Fronts have been created to embrace practically all national minority and racial groups in the United States.

The biggest Communist minority group front--as well as the second largest of all Communist front organizations, insofar as total membership is concerned--was the International Workers Order. At its peak in 1943, the IWO had a total membership of over 160,000.

The International Workers Order was a mutual benefit society having insurance, social and educational functions. The membership

was largely comprised of so-called "national" sections, i.e., sections drawn from immigrant groups in the United States. It originated in 1930 when left-wing elements split off from the Workmen's Circle, a Jewish Socialist fraternal order. Later, Croatian, Hungarian, Italian, Greek and other "national" sections were established.

Prominent Communists were among IWO leaders. Max Bedacht, for instance, who was general secretary of the IWO from 1933 to 1947, was a charter member of the Communist Party and for years was a national and district official of the Party.

As a result of action instituted by the Department of Insurance of the State of New York, the IWO was legally dissolved and its charter revoked in 1954 by New York State courts on the ground that it was Communist-controlled and had violated its charter. Indications are that many of the various lodges--the basic organizational unit of the IWO--will be reorganized on an individual basis and attempt to continue on nationality lines the previous programs--but not the insurance business-- of the IWO.

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Negroes in the United States have long been subjected to intensive and extensive Communist agitation and propaganda. The first Negro Communist front organizations appealed to Negro workers primarily on a class line. Later fronts sought to appeal to them as a racial group. Now these appeals have been merged.

Communist fronts attempt initially to attract Negroes by advocating fair employment practices and anti-lynch legislation, and by opposing the poll tax, police brutality and segregation. Once their interest is aroused, the current Communist Party line on domestic and foreign affairs is cieverly interpolated.

The first Negro Communist front organization in the United States was the American Negro Labor Congress, formed in 1925. It had little appeal and, five years later, was succeeded by the League of Struggle for Negro Rights. The same lack of success attended this organization, and it was merged with the International Labor Defense in 1936.

The next Negro Communist front of any importance was the National Negro Congress, launched in 1935 under non-Communist auspices for the purpose of protecting Negro rights. In a matter of a few years, however, the NNC was infiltrated and dominated by the Communists. By 1947, the NNC was recognized as having failed to organize the Negro people and it was absorbed by the Civil Rights Congress.

The paramount Communist Negro front organization today is the National Negro Labor Council which was founded in 1951 to fight for the economic, political and social freedom of the Negro people. The NNLC also encourages the active participation of Negroes in labor union affairs and urges the passage of a national fair employment practices statute.

Coleman Young, executive secretary of the NNLC, has been reliably reported to be a member of the Communist Party.

Other influential Negro Communist front organizations established in the last 20 years have included the Southern Conference for Human Welfare and the Council on African Affairs.

e. Political

The Communist Party has been experimenting with political fronts since the middle 1920's when it endeavored to capture the Farmer-Labor Party and similar movements in the Northwest and the Middle West.

Political fronts are of two types--one which is in the main a mere camouflage of the Communist Party, as was the case with the Workers Party in the early 1920's when the Communist Party preferred to operate underground; and one which is nothing more than an extension of the Communist Party itself, such as the present-day American Labor Party and the Progressive Party.

From the time of the formation of the American Labor Party in New York State in 1936, the Communist Party was one of three groups--Socialists, Social Democrats and Communists--struggling for power within it. By 1942, the Communists had emerged as the dominant element in the ALP in the major industrial areas of New York State and in New York City. Today--as in the past--the Communist Party, by virtue of its members

in key posts, is reliably reported to constitute the controlling force within the ALP.

The American Labor Party is not a political party of much strength or significance in New York State. In 1954, for example, the ALP gubernatorial candidate obtained approximately 45,000 votes, thereby causing the Party to lose its official status by failing to poll the required 50,000 votes.

The Progressive Party was founded in 1946 with the objective of making it a third major political party. From the outset, the Communists are reliably reported to have played an important role in the organization and activities of the PP. The platform and activities of the PP during the last six years have closely paralleled those of the Communist Party on foreign and domestic issues; and the Communist Party has endorsed and campaigned for PP candidates in every election.

The Progressive Party--like the American Labor Party--has comparatively little following. In the 1952 presidential election for instance, the PP candidate received slightly over 140,000 votes.

For the purpose of keeping the Communist program before the public and giving the Communists a cloak of respectability and legality, the use of "paper" political parties is occasionally resorted to. One such fictional party is the People's Rights Party in New York City, which was initially created in 1946 to further the unsuccessful campaigns of two

left-wing candidates for New York State office who had been ruled off the ballot of the two major parties. Use was not made again of this "paper" party until 1952 when Simon W. Gerson, New York State Communist Party legislative chairman, was nominated under the People's Rights Party emblem as a Congressional candidate in Brooklyn.

A year later, George Blake Charney, New York State Communist Party labor secretary, was designated the PRP nominee for the post of district attorney in New York County. In 1954, Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, a member of the National Committee of the Communist Party, USA, was chosen as a Congressional candidate in the Bronx under the banner of the PRP.

Gerson, Charney and Flynn were all overwhelmingly defeated in their bids for public office, Flynn obtaining only 2,000 votes.

f. Youth

From its earliest days, the international Communist movement has attempted to indoctrinate the youth. Wherever there is a Communist Party, there is always a Young Communist League or an equivalent Marxist youth organization.

The main Marxist youth group in the United States from 1922 until 1943 was the Young Communist League, known first as the Young Workers League from 1922 to 1925, then as the Young Workers (Communist) League from 1925 to 1929, and thereafter as the Young Communist League.

The YCL was affiliated with the Young Communist International.

In 1943, the Young Communist League was dissolved in order to create a "new united anti-fascist youth organization." Another organization, known as the American Youth for Democracy, was formed in its stead at the same convention which dissolved the YCL. Virtually all the incoming national officers of the AYD were old YCL leaders.

By 1948, the Communist Party had become critical of the American Youth for Democracy for not making itself a non-Party youth organization. As a consequence, a year later, the Labor Youth League came into existence. It was hailed as an "organization of Communist and non-Communist youth" with a "Marxist outlook and educational program." Many of the LYL's leaders are former officials of the AYD and the YCL.

Other important youth and student fronts which have operated in the United States, at one time or another during the last quarter of a century, have been the National Student League, American Student Union, American Youth Congress, American Youth for a Free World, Young Progressives of America and American Youth for Peace.



g. Economic

Fronts in this category consist generally of unemployed and consumers' groups, established for the purpose of deepening and exploiting

periods of economic depression, recession or inflation. Important economic front organizations have included the National Unemployed Councils, Workers Alliance, Consumers' National Federation and League of Women Shoppers.

The largest actual membership of any Communist front organization in the United States was that of the Workers Alliance. At the peak of its strength in 1938, the WA claimed a membership of 800,000.

The development of the Workers Alliance is interesting. In the early 1930's, there were three main groups on unemployed: the National Unemployed Councils, National Unemployed League, and Workers Alliance, the last-named being the most successful of the three. The original Workers Alliance was largely Socialist and was led by David Lasser; the National Unemployed Councils were rigidly controlled by the Communists, with Herbert Benjamin as their head. Benjamin was then an important figure in the Communist Party.

In 1936, the Communists convinced the Socialists of their sincere interest in and desire for unity. A merger was effected and a new Workers Alliance formed, with Lasser becoming its national president and Benjamin the general secretary-treasurer, the latter being the key post. Soon the Communist political complexion of Benjamin's National Unemployed Councils began to be transferred to the Workers Alliance and, in several years' time, the Communists gained undisputed control, with the Socialists being

gradually ousted from the leadership. By June, 1940, Lasser finally recognized his untenable position, resigned and denounced the Workers Alliance as a Communist front.

The Workers Alliance went out of existence in 1942 with the return of high employment during World War II.

h. Veterans'

Communist veterans' groups have existed in the United States from the time of the Workers Ex-Servicemen's League in the 1920's. Since the termination of World War II, however, there has been relatively little front activity in this sphere.

The most notorious Communist veterans' front has been the Veterans of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade, composed of American veterans of the Spanish Civil War. The VALB is still operating.

American Veterans for Peace is the most recent veterans' front.

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i. Women's

Like all Communist fronts, women's front organizations have been built around seemingly meritorious objectives, such as the peace campaign, child care, social and economic equality for women, et cetera. Women's fronts have also been utilized for economic purposes. The number of Communist women's fronts which have flourished is comparatively small.

Probably the two most important have been the Congress of American Women, now defunct, and American Women for Peace, still in existence.

j. Agrarian

Despite the fact that the Communists have expended serious effort--through the National Farmers Union, Negro sharecroppers in the South, cooperatives and political groups of a nonpartisan nature--to make their influence felt among the farmers, to date they have not achieved any substantial mass following on a national scale.

In certain localities, however, Communist control of certain agrarian groups has taken place. In New Jersey, for instance, the Communists have gained complete domination and control of the eastern division of the National Farmers Educational and Cooperative Union of America, formerly an affilate of the National Farmers Union. This Communist control caused the national organization of the National Farmers Union--a non-Communist group--to revoke, early in 1954, the charter of its eastern affiliate.

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k. Ad Hoc

An ad hoc, or special purpose, front is one created to exploit a particular or specific situation, whether local, national or international. It may be to exploit an alleged or real injustice, or in support of a particular

strike the Communists are interested in, or it may be a special purpose front related to Soviet foreign policy. Such fronts are short-lived and go out of business when the occasion for which they were formed passes away.

A typical ad hoc group was the United Labor Committee to Elect Turner. This organization, under the chairmanship of a Communist, was formed in April, 1954, for the purpose of aiding the election campaign of a non-Communist Negro candidate for councilman in a large eastern city. The organization was reportedly created as a vehicle wherein the Communist Party could work to enlist the support of white voters. A week before the election in June, 1954, when this candidate's election was virtually assured, the committee was dissolved.

3. Increased Reliance Today on Fronts

Since 1948, as a result of restrictive legislation, prosecutions of Communist leaders and adverse judicial decisions, the Communist Party, USA, has been compelled to curtail much of its former legal or aboveground activity and to assume an illegal or underground status. For this reason, during this period, the Party has come to rely increasingly on front organizations as media to promote the cause of Communism in the United States. The bulk of the Communist Party's mass work--fund-raising, petition drives, agitation, propaganda, legal defense, et cetera--formerly

conducted openly and publicly, has now been taken over by front groups, many of which have been especially created for these purposes. At the end of 1954, more than 250 known or suspected Communist front orgarizations were reportedly in existence and functioning in the United States.

The greatest concentration of front activity is--and always has been--in the New York City area. This is understandable for the reason that the national headquarters of the Communist Party, USA, and the headquarters of the New York State Communist Party are located in this city. New York State encompasses the largest Party district in the country, and approximately half of the total national membership of the Party resides in New York City and its environs. The rest of the major front concentration is in such large cities as Chicago, Los Angeles, Philadelphia, Newark and San Francisco.

B. Creation and Control

A former Communist has observed that the "trail of the Communist Party in the United States is strewn with the bones" of organizations which have been created or infiltrated, "sucked dry, and then cast aside." (11)

1. Methods of Creation

Organizations are "chessmen" in the hands of Party tacticians; they are created, transformed, and dissolved in accordance with the current

Party strategy.(12) Generally speaking, Communist front organizations are created in three ways:

First, there are those fronts which are planned as such by the Communists from their inception.

The manner in which a new front organization is formed has been lucidly described by Benjamin Gitlow:

> "...First, a number of sympathizers who are close to the party and whom the party knows can be depended upon to carry out party orders, are gotten together and formed into a nucleus which issues a call for the organization of a particular front organization which the party wants to establish. And generally after that is done a program is drawn up by the party, which this provisional committee adopts. Then, on the basis of this provisional program, all kinds of individuals are canvassed to become sponsors of the organization, which is to be launched in the very near future. A...provisional secretary is appointed before the organization is launched and in every instance in our day the secretary who was appointed was a member of the Communist Party...And as president of the organization, we would put up some prominent public figure who was willing to accept the presidency of the organization, generally making sure that, if that public figure was one who would not go along with the Communists, he was of such a type that he would be too busy to pay attention to the affairs of the organization, and therefore would represent no problem to the organization.
>
> "On the committee that would be drawn together, a sufficient number of Communists and Communist Party sympathizers who will carry out party orders, was included, and out of this number a small executive committee is organized, or acting committee, which carries on the affairs of the organization, so-called, and this small executive committee, with the secretary, really run the organization. And this small committee and the secretary are the instruments of the Communist

> Party, with the result that when manifestos or decisions on campaigns are made, those campaigns are ordered by the Communist Party."(13)

A good illustration of a front formed upon Communist initiative was the National Council of the Arts, Sciences and Professions, whose formation has already been set forth in detail.

The pyramiding of front organizations is one of the distinctive features of Communist strategy. A new front is frequently erected out of one or more previously existing fronts. Thus, for example, as we have seen, the Civil Rights Congress emanated from a merger of the International Labor Defense and the National Federation for Constitutional Liberties.

Once a network of fronts has been established, new ones can be formed with ease, since an initial core of supporters can be readily mobilized. A new front organized by the Communists frequently gains its original membership by using the already established chain of front organizations. In this way, the new group becomes a going concern with only a minimum outlay for promotion.

Some fronts show a surprising continuity and hardiness of existence. By way of illustration, the present-day Labor Youth League, as explained previously, had its genesis in the Young Workers League formed 32 years ago.

In addition to the more or less permanent organizations, the Communists frequently form ad hoc or "provisional" committees or groups for one special occasion or campaign, as previously mentioned. These groups, bolstered with a number of prominent names favorably associated by the public with outstanding service in some field, usually disappear immediately after the statement they endorse has been made. Sometimes, however, on the basis of the statement, the Communists extend and expand the campaign in community groups, fraternal organizations, unions and elsewhere.

The formation of ad hoc or "provisional" groups is a simple process. Two or three concealed Communists in the intellectual field, for example--a doctor, educator, writer--draw up a statement at the request of Party leaders. With that, they visit or write to a few men and women of outstanding position in American life. After these famous names have been obtained, or as many of them as possible, many other people not so conspicuous but nevertheless well known in their respective occupations or communities are approached, the famous signers being used as bait. Other concealed Communists in educational, writing or similar fields are also activated. Often even non-Communists become engaged in obtaining additional signatures.

An excellent example of ad hoc activity was an open letter which appeared in the Daily Worker for October 20, 1954.(14) This letter, which was signed by a total of 175 educators, clergymen, writers, lawyers, artists, physicians and others from 37 states, the District of Columbia, Hawaii and Puerto Rico, urged President Eisenhower to grant amnesty to the "political prisoners" convicted under the Smith Act. This appeal for clemency was sponsored by such notable professional people as Professor Dorothy Brewster, Rabbi Abraham Cronbach, Fyke Farmer, Dr. Alice Hamilton, Rev. George Lyman Paine, Willard B. Ransom and Professor H. W. Wilson.

The second method of forming a front is through a coalition in which the Communists openly join hands with non-Communist organizations at an organization's origin but eventually, by machination, take it over completely. A prime example of this technique was the American Youth Congress.

In 1934, Miss Viola Ilma returned to the United States from a trip to Germany, Italy and Austria, full of ideas inspired by the countries in which she traveled. Under her leadership, she set up an organization called the Central Bureau for Young America. Shortly thereafter, she formulated plans for a national congress and secured the sponsorship of a number of persons notable in many walks of life.

The congress convened in New York City in the Summer of 1934. Organizations represented at the gathering included the following:

American Baptist Publication Society (Young People's Division)

American Student Union

Epworth League of the Methodist Episcopal Church

Federation of Architects, Engineers, Chemists and Technicians, CIO

International Workers Order (Youth Section)

National Industrial Council, YWCA

National Maritime Union, CIO

Southern Negro Youth Congress

Student Peace Service

Workers Alliance

Young Communist League

Young People's Socialist League

Disagreement as to procedure and representation developed between the group headed by Miss Ilma and representatives of the left-wing organizations, which included Gilbert Green, national president of the Young Communist League. As a result, the Ilma group lost control to the left-wing faction.

The American Youth Congress was basically anti-fascist and anti-militarist in character. Its death knell was sounded when Germany and the USSR went to war in June, 1941. By the end of the year, the AYC was defunct.

The third way a front may be established is by Communist infiltration of an existing non-Communist organization--originally formed for a legitimate purpose by loyal citizens--until, by various deviousness, the Communists gain complete domination.

There are two channels of infiltration into non-Communist organizations: from the top and from the bottom. Infiltration from the top is preferred by the Communists as it is a quick and easy way to gain control. In penetrating from the top, the Communists carefully consider wherein lies the actual power of the organization. They aim to get comrades into such key posts as secretary, educational director and editor of the organization's publication. In that way, it is possible to put over thinly disguised Communist ideas and pervade the membership with a pro-Communist attitude. The Communists destined for such key positions make a point of ingratiating themselves with the non-Communist officers and the membership. By being ostensibly active in behalf of the legitimate wishes and needs of the members, they endeavor to win friends and influence people for subsequent exploitation on behalf of the Communist Party.

In infiltration from the bottom, the Communists seize upon grievances and slogans which they believe will be popular, many of which are so legitimate that they have no relation with Communist objectives. This

method of gaining influence goes beyond general slogans or campaigns. It also seeks out ways and means to make higher demands than the non-Communist leadership can justifiably make, or to raise issues which are distorted or false.

When working from the bottom, the Communists frequently bring forward their purposes through resolutions presented from time to time. Some of these resolutions have nothing to do with the Communist line, but are merely to gain influence. Eventually, however, they will be linked up with the Party line, in advocacy of which a whole series of resolutions may finally be introduced.

In order to solidify themselves in positions won at the top, or also when necessary to carry on penetration from the bottom, the Communists frequently organize so-called "progressive" groups termed "rank and file committees." While the members of these groups may not all be Communists, they are all sympathizers with the Communist cause, and their course of action is strictly supervised by the Communists.

One of the best examples of successful Communist infiltration of a non-Communist organization was the Nature Friends of America. The parent organization of the NFA was founded in Vienna, Austria, in 1895 as a hiking and camp group. By 1905, there were ten locals throughout the world. The first similar organization in the United States was organized

in New York City in 1910. Membership in the NFA was largely of German origin.

Several former members of the NFA have related the manner of its infiltration by the Communists: Prior to 1930, affairs of the NFA were directed by individuals who were not in any way identified with the Communist movement but, on the contrary, were determined to keep politics out of the organization. This attitude, characteristic of the older members, was not shared by an increasingly large number of younger members, some of whom had emigrated to this country from Germany immediately after World War I, but most of whom had arrived in the 1930's as political refugees from Nazi Germany. In a relatively short time, the younger left-wing group succeeded in capturing complete control of the national organization. Once this domination was established, members of the pro-Communist group utilized the national organization, including its camp facilities and official magazine, as instruments for Communist propaganda.

Communist control became so pronounced that the international office of the Nature Friends Movement in Zurich, Switzerland, officially expressed its disapproval of the pro-Communist attitude and affiliations of the NFA and its leaders.

Early in 1953, anti-Communist locals in upstate New York, New Jersey, Philadelphia and the Middle West, disaffiliated themselves

from the national organization. Later that year, the NFA was dissolved at a national convention. At the beginning of 1954, pro-Communist locals in New York and New Jersey formed another organization known as the Metropolitan Recreation Association.

Above and beyond the organizational skill possessed and the chicanery practiced by the Communists, the main reasons for their success in infiltrating and gaining dominance of non-Communist organizations are their capacity for hard work and long hours. They are the most industrious and tireless workers in an organization and this, coupled with their ability to organize and manipulate, in the long run usually gains them the control they so avidly seek.

2. Degree of Control

The degree of control of an organization varies. Sometimes it is complete, as is evident in the Labor Youth League. At times, the control is extensive, as was true of the Southern Conference for Human Welfare. At other times, as has been the case with a number of non-Communist organizations, there is partial or limited Communist control on a national, state or local level.

The Communists have always focused their attention on various important and influential non-Communist mass organizations in the United

States with the aim of increasing the Communist Party's strength and influence in such organizations, and over the years, the Party has expended considerable time and effort in furtherance of this objective. Their attempts to infiltrate are intended to "widen," "broaden" and "transform" these mass groups into useful instruments of the Communist Party.

In order for the Communists to utilize the influence of non-Communist organizations, Communist control must be assured. Mere nominal control is not sufficient. The Communist-controlled organization must be susceptible to Communist exploitation. Stalin summed up the ideal relationship between the Communist Party and non-Communist organizations in the following words:

> "... The Party is the organized detachment of the working class. But the Party is not the only organization of the working class. The proletariat has also a number of other organizations, without which it cannot properly wage the struggle against capital: trade unions, cooperative societies, factory and works organizations, parliamentary groups, non-Party women's associations, the press, cultural and educational organizations, youth leagues... The overwhelming majority of these organizations are non-Party... or represent its offshoots. All these organizations, under certain conditions, are absolutely necessary for the working class, for without them it would be impossible to consolidate

the class positions of the proletariat in the diverse spheres of struggle; for without them it would be impossible to steel the proletariat as the force whose mission it is to replace the bourgeois order by the Socialist order. But how can single leadership be exercised with such an abundance of organizations?... The question then arises: who is to determine the line, the general direction, along which the work of all these organizations is to be conducted? Where is that central organization which is not only able... but, in addition, is in a position...to induce all these organizations to carry out this line, so as to attain unity of leadership and to preclude the possibility of working at cross purposes?

"This organization is the Party of the proletariat.

"The Party possesses all the necessary qualifications for this...(and) is, by reason of its experience and prestige, the only organization capable of centralizing the leadership of the struggle of the proletariat, thus transforming each and every non-Party organization of the working class into an auxiliary body and transmission belt linking the Party with the class. The Party is the highest form of class organization of the proletariat.

"This does not mean, of course, that non-Party organizations, trade unions, cooperative societies, etc., should be officially subordinated to the Party leadership. It only means that the members of the Party who belong to these organizations and are doubtlessly influential in them should do all they can to persuade these non-Party organizations to draw nearer to the Party of the proletariat in their work and to accept voluntarily its political guidance."

. . . . . .

"...the opportunist theory of the 'independence' and 'neutrality' of the non-Party organizations...is wholly incompatible with the theory and practice of Leninism."(15)

3. Concealment of Communist Character

The Communists ordinarily take extreme pains to conceal, insofar as possible, the Communist character of their various front organizations. Fronts are invariably referred to in Party parlance as "progressive" organizations. It is significant that only half a dozen of the 625 organizations listed as Communist fronts in the Guide to Subversive Organizations and Publications and/or designated by the Attorney General have the word "Communist" as part of their names. Organization names are generally highly innocuous or even patriotic in tone. As a rule, there is not the slightest suggestion of revolution or un-Americanism in their names. On the contrary, their names abound in the usual Communist cliches.

A tabulation of the words most commonly employed in the names of the 625 organizations contained in the Guide or cited by the Attorney General is quite revealing:

Word or Words	Times Used
"American" or "National"	162
"Labor," "Trade Union" or "Worker"	66
"Peace" or "Anti-War"	45
"Democratic" or "Freedom"	44
"People's" or "Citizens'"	39

"Rights" or "Liberties"	33
"Lincoln," "Washington," "Jefferson," "Samuel Adams" or "Tom Paine"	19
"Friends" or "Friendship"	14
"United"	13
"Progressive"	13

Seemingly orthodox and meritorious aims and objectives are also characteristic of Communist fronts. There is scarcely any worthy purpose which the Communists have overlooked to exploit in their efforts to extend Communist influence among the American people.

Typical of a front with a high-sounding name and a professedly patriotic purpose is the Citizens Committee to Preserve American Freedoms. This organization was formed in a large west coast city in 1952--ostensibly under the auspices of some 40 civic, religious, social, professional and trade-union leaders but actually under the formulation of the local chapter of the National Council of the Arts, Sciences and Professions--in order to "support doctors, lawyers, trade unionists and others under attack by all witch-hunting groups."

Offices of the CCPAF were set up in a room which was part of a suite of rooms of a law firm of five attorneys who were reliably reported to have been members of the Communist Party in the past. At the time the

CCPAF was established, these attorneys had just been subpoenaed by the House Committee on Un-American Activities to appear at its hearing in that city inquiring into Communist infiltration of the professional field.

The first chairman of the group and the current secretary have both been reliably identified in the past as Communist Party members. Activities of the CCPAF have included several public meetings, a dinner and the filing of an amicus curiae brief supporting a motion to quash subpoenas issued by the House Committee.

4. Exploitation of Prominent Persons

There are four types of individuals who constitute a Communist front: First, there are Communist Party members. Sometimes their membership is secret, but often it is a matter of public record or open acknowledgment. Second, there are the fellow travelers who as a rule go along as if they were actually Party members. Usually these are intellectuals and professionals. Third, there are the sympathizers who may disagree with some policies, but are in general agreement with Communist objectives. Fourth, there are the muddled liberals or "innocents." These are frequently persons of prominence whose names have considerable publicity value. They are the decoys whose names do the work of covering up the Communist control of the organization. They know little or nothing about left-wing politics and are really ignorant of the fact of Communist domination.

The tactic of exploiting a person to establish control has always been practiced by the Communists. The Communists will round up as many notable and distinguished persons as possible to serve as window dressing in various organizations for the simple reason that the names of a number of educators, scientists, clergymen, writers and other professional people attached to any Communist front or action will make an impression on the unwary and the unsuspecting. The names of influential people associated with fronts tend to attract and enlist the sympathy and support of lesser people. Prominent persons serving as sponsors, as officers and as members of the executive committee give such fronts an outward appearance of credence, character and prestige which they would not otherwise possess.

For years, most Communist front organizations of any size or significance have capitalized on the publicity and propaganda value accruing from the affiliations with their groups of non-Communists prominent in all fields of endeavor. In the late 1930's, for example, an impressive group of men and women influential in the political, social, cultural, educational and religious life of the nation were members of the national advisory committee of the American Youth Congress, previously described.

In the last 35 years, many well-meaning, intelligent and patriotic people of distinction, have been induced to lend their names--but not their talents--to Communist fronts or causes without apparently being aware of their true nature or purpose. Mostly these men and women were motivated by a sincere and idealistic desire to further or advance what they thought or had been led to believe were worth-while and laudable objectives and programs. These individuals were often too busy or too unsuspecting, or both, to investigate the nature and backing of the organization with which they had identified themselves. And though in some cases they may have known that Communists were involved, they were too naive or unfamiliar with Communist practices to realize that the Communists were not interested in the cause itself, but only in the way it could be twisted and used to further Communist goals. Again, many of these people lent their names to fronts at a time when relations between the United States and the Soviet Union were much more amicable than they are today.

There is a definite monotonous regularity in the names of many of the notables who have permitted themselves to be identified, in some manner or another, with Communist fronts. A good illustration of this

occurred in connection with the Scientific and Cultural Conference for World Peace which was held under the auspices of the National Council of the Arts, Sciences and Professions at the Waldorf-Astoria Hotel in New York City in March, 1949. There were some 535 sponsors of this affair. A tabulation made by the House Committee on Un-American Activities of the numerous Communist front affiliations of these 535 sponsors gives a graphic picture of the extent of their Communist front connections.

One--Rockwell Kent--had been affiliated with at least 85 Communist front organizations.

Three--Langston Hughes, Robert Morss Lovett and Donald Ogden Stewart--had been affiliated with from 71 to 80 front organizations.

Four--Paul Robeson, Mary Van Kleeck, James Waterman Wise and Harry F. Ward--had been affiliated with from 51 to 60 front organizations.

Eight had been affiliated with from 41 to 50 front organizations. These included:

Jerome Davis

William Gropper

Dashiell Hammett

Corliss Lamont

John Howard Lawson

Carey McWilliams

Walter Rautenstrauch

Margaret Schlauch

Ten had been affiliated with from 31 to 40 front organizations, and included:

Louis Adamic	Albert Maltz
Edwin Berry Burgum	Clifford Odets
Muriel Draper	Herman Shumlin
Henry Pratt Fairchild	Bernhard J. Stern
Lillian Hellman	Dalton Trumbo

Twenty-seven had been affiliated with from 21 to 30 front organizations; 49 with from eleven tc twenty and 245 with from five to ten. (16)

Robert Morss Lovett, just mentioned, is one of the leading all-time record-holders of Communist front affiliations. Now 84 years old, he was born in Boston and educated at Harvard University. For 44 years he taught English at Harvard and at the University of Chicago. He is the author of a number of books and works in the field of American literature, as well as several novels and plays. From 1939 until 1943, he was Government Secretary of the Virgin Islands. He is now retired and resides in Chicago.

Lovett's first known support of a Communist front occurred in 1922 when he was a member of the executive committee of the American Committee for Relief of Russian Children. Almost 30 years later, in 1951, he became cochairman of the Chicago branch of the American Peace Crusade and honorary chairman of the Progressive Party of Illinois. As late as October,

1954, he was one of 175 notables who addressed an open letter to President Eisenhower asking amnesty for Communists convicted under the Smith Act.

Thus, in a period of 32 years, Robert Morss Lovett has been identified or affiliated with at least 75 Communist front organizations, enterprises and causes.

5. International Affiliations

From 1919 until the beginning of World War II, many Communist front organizations in the United States were sections or affiliates of international Communist organizations. Some of the American sections or affiliates of international bodies during this period were:

American Section or Affiliate	International Body
Young Communist League	Young Communist International
International Labor Defense	International Red Aid
American League Against War and Fascism	World Committee Against War and Fascism
North American Committee to Aid Spanish Democracy	International Coordination and Information Commission in Support of the Spanish Republic
National Student League	Proletarian Student Organization
League of American Writers	International Union of Revolutionary Writers

After World War II, a number of new international Communist front organizations were established, most of them with American affiliates. One of these was the Women's International Democratic Federation, which was formed through the efforts of the Communist-controlled International Women's Congress held in Paris, France, in late 1945. Its American affiliate was the Congress of American Women, now defunct.

With the passage of the Internal Security Act of 1950, however, American Communist front organizations severed or relinquished whatever formal international ties they formerly maintained. The National Lawyers Guild, for example in 1951 disaffiliated itself from the International Association of Democratic Lawyers, the latter being an international Communist front organization.

At the present time, the relationships between the international Communist organizations and their American counterparts continue in accordance with the principle of international solidarity, their aims and objectives remaining the same without the formal affiliations of the past. A number of Americans, for instance, who were members of various Communist front organizations in the United States, were delegates or visitors to the World Youth Festivals held in Berlin, Germany, in 1951 and in Bucharest, Rumania, in 1953. These festivals were sponsored by the World Federation for Democratic Youth and the International Union of Students, both of which are under Communist control.

C. Sources and Expenditures of Funds

Some conception of the amount of money which passes through the hands of Communist front organizations can be shown by the fact that, in connection with the 1949 bail fund raised by the Civil Rights Congress for the defense of Communists arrested under the Smith Act, over $700,000 had been collected by the Fall of that year.

1. Sources of Income

The sources from which Communist fronts derive their funds normally consist of the following:

1. Membership dues.
2. Sustainers--pledges of regular contributions by members in addition to their regular dues.
3. Fund drives.
4. Admission charges and collections at public rallies and affairs--mass meetings, banquets, lectures, et cetera.
5. "Angels"--Communist Party members, sympathizers or dupes of moderate or great wealth who make sizeable contributions.
6. Donations from Party members or sympathizers.
7. Foundations--privately endowed "philanthropies" established by Communist Party members or sympathizers.
8. Contributions from Communist-controlled unions.

9. Subsidies from the Communist Party.

10. Sale of literature and proceeds from rummage sales, raffles, art exhibits, and the like.

a. "Angels"

A few of the more important "angels" of the Communist front movement in the United States--past and present--are named hereinafter.

Julius Heiman

Julius Heiman was one of the original "angels" of the American Communist movement. He was born in Russia 73 years ago but came to the United States at an early age. Heiman, a charter member of the Communist Party, amassed considerable wealth in real estate and steel. From the early days of the Party, until as late as 1949, he is said to have contributed thousands of dollars to the Party and to front groups.

Abraham Heller

Abraham Heller, now 80 years old, was another early "angel." He was also Russian-born and came to this country when a youth. He made a fortune in the manufacture of synthetic jewelry and commercial oxygen.

Heller was similarly a charter member of the Communist Party, USA, and became president of International Publishers and later treasurer of the Jefferson School of Social Science. In 1946, after the

expulsion of Earl Browder, his close friend, from the Communist Party for "revisionism," Heller severed his connections with both afore-mentioned organizations and withdrew from the Party.

Heller is reputed to have contributed huge sums of money to innumerable Communist fronts and causes during the period he was active in the Communist movement.

Grace Burnham

Grace Burnham inherited a reported $500,000 on the death of her husband, a soap manufacturer. During the period from the early 1930's through the 1940's, she gave substantial amounts in support of a number of Communist enterprises, particularly to the Labor Research Association.

Frederick Vanderbilt Field

In the last 20 years, Frederick Vanderbilt Field has been the heaviest financial contributor to Communist fronts and projects in the United States. For example, in 1948 and in 1952, he is reliably reported to have given more than $50,000 to such Communist fronts as the American Russian Institute, American Youth for Democracy, Jefferson School of Social Science, National Council of American-Soviet Friendship, American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born and Council on African Affairs.

Edward C. Carter, secretary-general of the Institute of Pacific Relations, testified in 1951 before the Senate Subcommittee on Internal Security that for several years Field had made up the deficit of the IPR by contributing approximately $60,000.

Field is a descendant of an old American family and was educated at Harvard. At his mother's death in 1934, he shared in an estate of over $3,000,000. He joined the Communist Party in the mid-1930's.

Corliss Lamont

Another extremely liberal contributor to the Communist movement since the 1930's has been Corliss Lamont, who inherited a large fortune. Lamont, whose father was a member of the banking firm of J. P. Morgan and Company, received his education at Harvard, Oxford and Columbia Universities. He is now a lecturer in philosophy at Columbia. He has been reported in the past as a Communist Party member.

Lamont has given heavily to such Communist front organizations as the National Council of American-Soviet Friendship, Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee, American Russian Institute and National Council of the Arts, Sciences and Professions.

b. Foundations

Communist fronts, enterprises, causes and publications, especially before World War II, enjoyed an extremely fruitful source of income from a number of foundations. Some of the principal foundations which have materially benefited the American Communist front movement are described hereinafter.

American Fund for Public Service, Inc.

In 1919, Charles Garland, the young son of a rich Boston industrialist, inherited nearly $1,000,000. Three years later, he established and contributed $900,000 to a foundation which was called the American Fund for Public Service, Incorporated, commonly known as the Garland Fund. William Z. Foster, now national chairman of the Communist Party, USA, was one of the original members of the board of directors. Later, other Communists also served as board members.

In 1928, the fund had reached almost $2,000,000 as a result of lucrative investments. Between 1922 and 1934, the fund made gifts and loans of approximately $1,650,000 to a number of publications and periodicals, Negro organizations, civil liberties groups, strike relief agencies, farm and consumers' cooperatives, student delegations to Russia, workers' summer camps and agricultural reconstruction in the

USSR. Not all the funds of this foundation were given to Communist fronts and publications, but among those fronts which received large gifts were the Young Pioneers of America, Workers School, Young Workers League, Federated Press and International Labor Defense.

By 1934, the fund had become virtually exhausted.

Rosenberg Foundation

The Rosenberg Foundation was created in 1936 by the will of Max Rosenberg, who had made a fortune in the dried fruit business in San Francisco. The purpose of the foundation was to improve community health, recreation and education.

Louise Bransten Berman, a daughter of Max Rosenberg, was on the foundation's board of directors from 1936 to 1951 but has not been affiliated with the group since that time. She has long been an active Communist in California and New York and, during her membership on the board, she is said to have used her influence to cause some funds to be earmarked for Communist-controlled or infiltrated organizations. During the period 1942 to 1946, more than $70,000 was granted to half a dozen such organizations in California.

There is no indication that the Rosenberg Foundation in recent years has supported any subversive groups.

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Sound View Foundation, Inc.

In the early 1920's, following the death of his parents, Alfred Herman Hirsch shared an estate of nearly $500,000. Hirsch, who had joined the Communist Party in the 1930's, formed Sound View Foundation, Incorporated, for the purpose of promoting the "well-being of mankind"; actually, the foundation was used for the benefit of Communist fronts.

Between 1939 and 1941, Sound View made contributions totaling $25,000 to numerous front organizations and publications, the largest sums--among the fronts--going to the American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born, International Labor Defense, National Federation for Constitutional Liberties and National Negro Congress.

Robert Marshall Foundation

and Robert Marshall Civil Liberties Trust Fund

Robert Marshall, the son of a famed New York constitutional lawyer, died in 1939, leaving an estate in excess of $1,525,000, which he divided into three separate trusts. One trust was for the preservation of American wild life; another trust, known as the Robert Marshall Civil Liberties Trust Fund; was to safeguard civil liberties; and a third trust, called the Robert Marshall Foundation, was designed to promote Socialism in the United States.

Between 1940 and 1953, the Robert Marshall Foundation was one of the primary sources of funds with which American Communist fronts were financed. Among the Communist fronts which received monies from this source were: American Youth Congress, Farm Research, Southern Conference for Human Welfare, National Lawyers Guild, National Federation for Constitutional Liberties, National Negro Congress, Federated Press, American Youth for Democracy and Civil Rights Congress. The Civil Rights Congress alone, from 1946 to 1949, received $43,000 from the Robert Marshall Foundation.

By the middle of 1954, resources of the Robert Marshall Foundation and the Robert Marshall Civil Liberties Trust Fund totaled little more than $13,000.

American People's Fund, Inc.

The American People's Fund was incorporated in 1942 in New York State as a charitable, educational and scientific trust with Frederick Vanderbilt Field as president. Between the years 1942-48, the fund received contributions totaling nearly $64,000 and made disbursements to such Communist fronts as the Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee, Labor Youth League, American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born, National Council of American-Soviet Friendship, Institute of Pacific Relations and Southern Conference for Human Welfare.

This fund is now dissolved.

c. Support from Communist Party

The Communist Party in the United States has generally followed the policy and practice of insistence on financial self-sufficiency--except for initial aid--on the part of its front organizations. The Party expects each organization to procure through its own efforts the money necessary to exist. However, if such an organization at any time falls into dire need of funds or the problem of survival arises, the required money will be forthcoming.

The Party itself lends other than mere financial assistance or support to such groups, however. This is evidenced in the way Party members are constantly enjoined to participate in the fund-raising campaigns of these groups, purchase tickets to various affairs, et cetera.

The various Communist youth organizations--Young Workers League, Young Communist League, American Youth for Democracy and Labor Youth League--have unfailingly and unstintingly received regular stipends from the Party over the years on a national, district and local level. In 1949, for example, the Communist Party, USA, gave more than $3,000 to the Labor Youth League. During the first half of 1951, the New York State LYL was subsidized by the New York State Communist

Party in the amount of some $2,500, and in the same period, various county organizational units of the LYL in New York City received substantial contributions from similar county units of the Communist Party.

The New York State Communist Party in 1945 contributed in excess of $15,000 and in 1949 approximately $13,000 to various Communist front groups. In 1949, the Communist Party, USA, gave $1,750 to the American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born. The Civil Rights Congress, at various times, also has been furnished funds by the Communist Party.

The American Labor Party in New York City has been the recipient of Party funds on many occasions. Once, the late Vito Marcantonio, one-time New York State chairman of the ALP, was known to have been personally handed $10,000 by a Communist Party official.

Front organizations frequently contribute to each other. A prosperous front will give to a less thriving one. The International Workers Order, in particular, is said to have made contributions in the past to relieve the financial burdens of less affluent fronts.

2. Aid to Communist Party

The funds in the treasuries of front organizations have never been regarded as particularly inviolate by the Communists. Through

various devious bookkeeping transactions, funds collected in connection with rallies, strikes, relief campaigns--especially in the early years of the American Communist movement--have been appropriated for the Party's own use.

During the 1920's, front organizations provided a number of jobs for Party members who more often than not devoted their full time to Party work. The staff of the first American Communist front, Friends of Soviet Russia, for instance, was said to have been padded with the names of Communist Party organizers who were paid salaries and expenses by that organization but who spent all their time on Party activity. In addition, large sums of money collected were alleged to have been funneled into the Party's coffers.

At the start of the Passaic, New Jersey, textile workers' strike in 1925-26, the Communists set up a strikers' relief committee. From the estimated $500,000 collected, enough money reputedly remained to colonize Passaic with a number of paid Communist Party organizers, to send others to various sections of the country, and to divert thousands of dollars into the Party's treasury.

In the Gastonia, North Carolina, textile workers' strike in 1929, the International Labor Defense raised money to provide bail and defense for arrested workers, but a sizeable portion was allegedly retained by the Communist Party.

During the campaign conducted by the Scottsboro Defense Committee in the 1930's, hundreds of thousands of dollars were collected all over the country by the Communists, but a negligible amount of this money was spent for the defense, and very little got back to the Scottsboro boys themselves or their parents. Instead, the funds collected were said to have been used for Party activities.

The International Workers Order, during its existence, was the source of considerable funds for the Communist Party. In 1936 the IWO pledged $50,000 to aid the Communist election campaign, and in 1949 agreed to raise nearly $25,000 for the defense of the twelve Communist leaders indicted in New York City for violation of the Smith Act. Moreover, the IWO was always predominantly staffed by Communists who used their salaried positions and travel expenses to further the Party's program.

The Civil Rights Congress has likewise been a prime indirect supplier of funds to the Party by virtue of the money it raises and expends in defense of arrested Communists, in fighting anti-Communist legislation, and in behalf of Negro rights.

A front group whose income accrued entirely to the advantage of the Communist Party was the Committee to Uphold the Constitutional Rights of the Communists, established in 1947 to fight proposed Federal

legislation to outlaw the Communist Party. By the Fall of 1947, over $275,000 had been collected. With these monies, the Committee bought advertising in scores of newspapers and radio time for a number of local broadcasts, helped finance a Communist Veterans' Encampment in Washington, D. C., and contributed to the defense of Eugene Dennis, Leon Josephson and Gerhart Eisler, leading Communists who had been arrested for contempt of Congress.

Another group of the same type was the Committee to Defend the Twelve, which was formed as the main collection agency for funds in connection with the trial of the twelve Communist leaders in New York City. By the end of 1949, this committee had gathered nearly $240,000.

A similar organization, called the Self-Defense Committee of the Seventeen Victims of the Smith Act, was set up to organize, conduct and finance the defense of the 17 secondary Communist leaders who were arrested in 1951 in New York City under provisions of the Smith Act. Shortly after the arrests, the committee set a goal of $250,000 for defense of Smith Act defendants in New York City, Baltimore and Pittsburgh.

The Self-Defense Committee of the Seventeen Victims of the Smith Act became part of the Citizens Emergency Defense Committee in the middle of 1952. The latter organization had been formed a few months earlier to direct and coordinate the mass campaign and to finance

and secure the funds required for the defense of the New York Smith Act defendants. During the period from the early Summer of 1952 through the Spring of 1953, the CEDC made expenditures in excess of $65,000.

D. Effectiveness and Influence

1. Number of Fronts and Persons Involved

As noted before, the American League Against War and Fascism has been recognized as the most effective and influential of all American Communist front organizations. At its peak in the 1930's, the ALAWF claimed to represent groups with a total membership, direct and indirect, of 7,500,000.

Another organization which claimed to have a membership in the millions was the American Youth Congress, purporting at one time to speak for over 4,500,000 Americans.

Both the American League Against War and Fascism and the American Youth Congress obviously counted their memberships by the simple process of totaling the aggregate of members in their affiliated organizations. On the other hand, the Workers Alliance, as previously stated, was reputed to have actually enrolled some 800,000 unemployed on its own membership books.

No exact figures are available as to the number of Communist front organizations which have existed in the United States during the last 35 years, nor are there any accurate statistics as to the total number of persons who have been involved in Communist front activity in that period. But it is safe to say that the number of fronts runs into the thousands, while the number of persons engaged in front activity has probably outnumbered the number of actual Communist Party members by a ratio of ten to one or better. Thus, at the zenith of the Communist Party's membership strength in the United States--which was reported to be 80,000 in 1944-45--a total of nearly a million persons probably participated in Communist front activity of one form or another.

2. Advantages of Fronts to Communist Movement

As has been shown, the advantages and benefits which accrue to the Communist movement in the United States from front organizations are considerable: First, through the adept use of fronts, the American Communist Party has been able to exert pressure and funnel propaganda on behalf of the Soviet Union to large sections of the American people with whom the Party itself would otherwise have little or no contact. Second, fronts have provided valuable organizational and administrative training and experience for individual members of the Party. Third,

fronts have served as a productive field for recruiting new members into the Communist Party. Fourth, fronts have afforded media to the Party for raising funds, distributing Communist literature, conducting petition campaigns, et cetera. Fifth, fronts have supplied a convenient cover for the Party's underground operations.

All in all, the utilization of an ever-changing network of fronts has enabled the Communists to carry on their devious and diverse operations and activities without exposing and subjecting the Communist Party organization itself to legal restrictions or prosecution. In effect, front groups have furnished an elaborate facade behind which the Communist conspiracy has been able to penetrate and operate with every appearance of legitimacy and legality.

E. Detection and Identification

1. Tests to Detect and Identify Fronts

The Communists' extensive and widespread use of fronts in the past and at the present raises a problem of how to accurately detect and identify such Communist fronts. This is a problem which confronts not only the various security and intelligence agencies of the Government, but the general public as well. No single test or criterion is sufficient, as a rule, to justify the conclusion that a given organization or group is

a Communist front. Since a number of organizations have been infiltrated and covertly manipulated by the Communist Party, USA, it is, at times, somewhat difficult to determine whether or not an organization or group can be justifiably classified as a Communist front. However, a preponderance of affirmative answers to the following questions should resolve any doubts regarding the subversive character of any organization suspected of being a Communist front:

1. Did the organization spring into existence literally overnight to meet a shift in the Communist Party line or a change in Soviet foreign policy?

2. Are offices of the organization located in the same building with other front organizations?

3. Is the organization sponsored and supported by individuals and organizations themselves of Communist character?

4. Are the key positions of the organization--the executive board, secretary, educational director, editor, office staff--occupied by Communist Party members, sympathizers or fellow travelers?

5. Does the organization present itself to be nonpartisan yet engage in political activities and causes not related to its publicly avowed purposes and objectives?

6. Does the organization consistently receive favorable publicity and support in the Communist press?

7. Does the organization sponsor and cooperate in causes, campaigns, demonstrations, and the like, in association or in collaboration with the Communist Party or other front groups?

8. Does the organization feature, at its public meetings and functions, speakers and entertainers who are known Communists, sympathizers or fellow travelers?

9. Are literature, posters, tickets, et cetera, of the organization on display or for sale in Communist-controlled bookshops or at other places under Communist control?

10. Is the organization's printing done by a Communist-controlled printing establishment?

11. Does the organization cooperate with or is it endorsed by Communist-run labor unions?

12. Have outstanding leaders in public life openly renounced or severed affiliation or association with the organization?

13. Does the organization shift with and follow the Communist Party line on all occasions and at all times?

14. Does the organization invariably refer to Soviet satellite countries as "democracies"?

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15. Does the organization constantly denounce the American capitalist system and the American way of life?

16. Does the organization continually decry American foreign policy while always lauding that of the Soviet Union?

17. Does the organization, on all occasions and at all times, confirm, support and praise all policies and actions of the Soviet Union?

18. Do the organization's avowed aims and objectives invariably parallel and conform with those of the Communist Party, USA, at all times and on all occasions?

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